

Recursion and thematic relations in causatives

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Syntactic approaches to the causative alternation disagree as to whether lexical causatives differ from their anticausative counterparts crucially in the addition of a causing event (Harley 1995, Pytkänen 2008) or in the addition of a causer participant (Alexiadou et al. 2006, 2015; Schäfer 2008). In this talk, I focus on productive causative constructions of the "X made Y verb Z" type and demonstrate that both strategies are in fact attested in the formation of productive causatives. Using a number of eventhood diagnostics, I show that while productive causatives involve an added event in Japanese and Turkish, they only involve an added participant in Tagalog.

Bi-eventive causatives involve a structure with two little *v*-heads, where the higher *v* introduces a causing event. Mono-eventive causatives can involve one of two structures, depending on the agentivity of the causee: (i) Voice and Appl, or (ii) a structure with two Voice heads, where the higher Voice introduces a causative thematic role. I demonstrate that the choice of causative formation strategy also correlates with a previously unexplored property: the ability to recurse causatives ("X made Y make Z ..."). Bi-eventive causatives can recurse, while mono-eventive causatives cannot. I show that this difference in the availability of recursion falls out of an approach whereby causation relations can be encoded either as an event or as a thematic role.